

POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCH PROJECT

THE OPPOSITION WITHIN: ROMANIA AND THE CMEA EEC POLICY, 1957-1989

SCIENTIFIC REPORT (MAY-DECEMBER 2018)

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Host institution: University Valahia of Târgoviste, Romania, Faculty of Humanities

Project title: The opposition within: Romania and the CMEA EEC policy, 1957-1989

Project Acronym: OppWithin

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Team of the project:

Project leader: Dr. Elena Dragomir

Mentor: Prof. Univ. Dr. Hab. Silviu-Marian Miloiu

Project summary:

Addressing a gap in historiography, this project aims to investigate Romania's position and opposition regarding the CMEA EEC policy, between 1957 (when the EEC was established through the Treaty of Rome) and 1989 (when the socialist system in Romania collapsed). The project focuses, in equal measure, on instances when Romania agreed with the other members of the bloc, as well as on instances of opposition. Why Romania adopted a position or another? What tactics of opposition it used? Did Romania's EEC position within the CMEA change over time, and if so why and how? How influential was Romania's position on the overall CMEA EEC policy? Tackling such questions, the project traces the internal and external factors that provided the background for Romania's position: the Romanian-Soviet relations, EEC enlargement process, the East-West détente, the CMEA reformation, or the perestroika. Theoretically, this project challenges the traditional conceptual framework on Romania's opposition within the Eastern bloc, contributing to the development of a new theoretical approach. It operates with concepts as threats and perceptions, drawing from S. Walt's balance of threat theory (according to which states reacted to external threats) and using a perceptual approach (according to which state's behaviour is explained through the decision makers' perceptions and views). The hypothesis is that Romania opposed the CMEA EEC policy because it was perceived as threat to Romania's interests. Methodologically, the project fits into the New Cold War History paradigm, being multiarchival in approach and paying attention to the role of ideology (understood in a broad sense as views, system of beliefs, perceptions). Through its findings, the project contributes to the field of the studies on the CMEA-EEC relations and opens a new research perspective towards a comprehensive

view on Romania's foreign trade policy within the socialist bloc and towards the capitalist world.

During the first stage of the project (May-December 2018), I reviewed the scientific literature with regard to the subject, theory and methodology of the project. Thus, I read and critically analyzed numerous studies, articles, books, periodicals and press materials.

Archive research:

In 2018, I studied the theme of the project in two Romanian archives and in one foreign archive, as follows: **The Romanian National Central Archives**, Bucharest, Romania, **The Diplomatic Archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs**, Bucharest, Romania, and **The Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland**, Helsinki. During the second half of the year of 2018, new archive fond became available for research in The Romanian National Central Archives (i.e. *CAER – Comisia Guveramentală de Cooperare Economică și Tehnică – Comitetul Executiv Generale, Contacte CAER - Organizații Internaționale, Secretariat, Buletine Statistice, Comisia Permanentă pentru Comerț Exterior I și II, Consfătuiri la nivel înalt, Raporte, Sesiuni CAER* etc.). In this situation, the archive research in Romania was more extensive than previously anticipated.

Being in Helsinki to participate at *The 18th annual Aleksanteri Conference 2018: "Liberation – Freedom – Democracy? 1918–1968–2018"* (24-29 October 2018), I studied in **The Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland** a series of relevant files for the subject of the project.

Conference and seminar presentations:

I gave three presentations in three different scientific events as follows:

- On 29 September 2018, I gave a presentation at the International Roundtable entitled *Petites puissances et l'inégalité dans le système international / Small Powers and Inequality within the international system*. The event was organized in Targoviste, by the University Valahia of Targoviste, Romania, the Cultural Centre for UNESCO 'Citadelle de la Romance' Târgoviște, in collaboration with Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3, The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies and the 'Grigore Gafencu' Research Centre of History and Cultural Heritage. My presentation was entitled *Romania and the Common Market argument within the CMEA integration debates, 1962-1963 / La Roumanie et les arguments sur le marché commun dans les débats sur l'intégration du CAEM, 1962-1963*. The programme of the conference is available at the next link: <https://gafencu.hypotheses.org/petites-puissances-et-linegalite-dans-le-systeme-international>.
- On 26 October 2018, I gave a presentation at the International Conference entitled *The 18th annual Aleksanteri Conference 2018: "Liberation – Freedom – Democracy? 1918–1968–2018"*, organized in Helsinki, Finland, by the Aleksanteri Institute and the University of Helsinki (24-26 October 2018). My presentation was entitled *The opposition within: Romania and the CMEA-EEC negotiations on the 1988 Joint Declaration*. The programme of the conference is available at the following link: <https://www.helsinki.fi/en/conferences/liberation-freedom-democracy-1918-1968-2018/programme>.
- On 29 November 2018, at the „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University in Iasi, Romania, I gave a presentation entitled „Politica externă a României în perioada Războiului

Rece: o nouă teorie?” / „Romania’s foreign policy during the Cold War: a New Theory?” The announcement of the conference is available at the next link: <https://cis20.ro/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Eveniment-29-nov-CIS20-web-724x1024.png>

During the first year of the project, I wrote two articles, as follows:

- Elena Dragomir, „Romania and the intra-bloc CMEA negotiations on the establishment of CMEA-EEC relations, 1984-1988”, published in November 2018 in *Historical Yearbook*, vol. XV, 2018, p. 123-138, The Rdomanian Acaemy, ISSN 1584-854X.
- Elena Dragomir, „Romania and the beginning of CMEA controversies over a common trade policy towards the EEC, 1969-1972” (in evaluation by *European History Quarterly*).